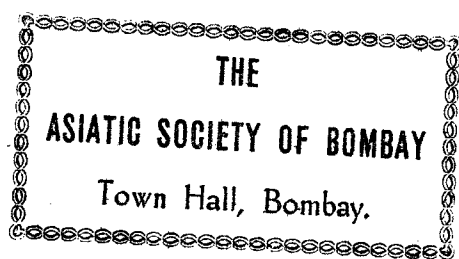


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NOTE ON THE
PĀLI GRAMMARIAN
KACHCHĀYANA.

BY

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WITH

SOME REMARKS

BY

DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

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NOTE ON THE

PÁLI GRAMMARIAN KACHCHÁYANA.

THE PÁLI referred to in this paper is the language in which the sacred literature of the Buddhists of Burma and Ceylon is written.* It is found inscribed on palm leaves in the characters of the vernacular speech peculiar to those countries. Mágadha-bhásá, or Mágadhí, is the appellation given to it by the native writers, who assert it to be the original language, as will be seen from the subjoined stanza from Rúpasiddhi, II, 1, the authorship of which has hitherto been unknown :

sá mágadha-múla-bhásá nará yáy' ádikappiká
brahmāno ch' assutálápá sambuddhá chápi bhásare

which may be rendered thus—"that by which men of former ages, Brahmas, and such as had never heard speech, expressed themselves, is the original Mágadha language."

With regard to the question what this Páli is, I cannot do better than refer to the remarks of that distinguished orientalist Dr. Muir, on the Páli, its early introduction into Ceylon, and its relations to Sanskrit and Prákrit, in the 2nd Volume of his *Sanskrit texts*, pp. 56-73, 104, 108, 109 (second edition).

The use of the *e* for *o*, peculiar to the dialect employed in the pillar inscriptions which resembles the Mágadhí of Dhauli, is common to the Páli; for, in the 85th aphorism of chapter XX of the Sadda Níti, mention is made of this peculiarity: thus, *ti-lingato tháne si-yonam e*, "in the three genders *e* instead of *si*, *yo*," i. e., in the nom. sing., and nom. acc. plural as,

* The word *páli* signifies a line or row: a sacred text.

vanappagumbo for vanappagumbo, 'the forest shrub,'
 sukhe dukkhe for sukham dukkham, 'health and sickness,'
 viratte kosiyañe for virattá kosiyañi, 'the impassible kosiya-
 brahminess.'

[*cf.* Clough's Gr., p. 15. Cowell, p. 180, aphorisms 10-13, chap. XI, Var.].

I think it may be affirmed that the Páli of Ceylon and Burma is the language Buddha used in Mágadha; but, from having been arrested in its downward course, and preserved from the prevailing corrupting influences of vernacular use, it differs from the modern Mágadhí, and from the dialect employed in the pillar inscriptions which resembles the Mágadhí of Dhauli.

There are extant in Burma and Ceylon several grammatical treatises upon the Páli language, which may be said to represent two different schools. The one is represented by the grammar of Kachcháyana; the other by the grammar of Moggallána.

Moggallána, the representative of the more modern schools, flourished in Ceylon during the reign of Prákrama Báhu I, *circa* 1153-1186 A. D. He was also the author of a Páli dictionary, or rather vocabulary, entitled the Abhidhána, after the model of the Sanskrit Amarakośa. On entering, the priesthood, he dropped his patronymic, and assumed the name of Sangharakkhita Thera, 'The Protected of the Congregation,' under which title he wrote four treatises, the first two of which are in verse:—*viz.*,

Súbodbálankára, 'Easy rhetoric,'

Vuttodaya, 'Exposition of Metre,'

Sambandhachintá, 'Reflections on relation (of cases),'

Khuddasikkhá tiká, 'a gloss in prose on Dhammasiri's "Minor duties (of a priest)."'

He dedicates the last of these to the learned priest Sáriputta, and the second to Síla Thera. They probably represent one and the same person. The treatises on Rhetoric and Metre are merely adaptations from Sanskrit works on the same subject, *viz.*, Sáhitya-Darpaṇa and Vṛttaratnákara, and his grammar exhibits similar indications of having been formed upon a Sanskrit model.

There are several points of difference, both in substance and arrangement, between this grammar and Kachcháyana's work; for instance, Moggallána affirms that there are ten and not eight vowels in the Páli alphabet thus increasing the number of the letters from forty-one to forty-three. Again, the book on case relation (káraka) is excluded from the grammar, and made the subject of a separate treatise. The grammar contains 1,043 aphorisms arranged under seven books as follows:—

	Name of Book.	Subject.	No. of Aphorisms.
1	Sandhi, ...	euphonic combination.	58
2	Syādi 1, ...	{ words simple, and compound.	243
3	Syādi 2, ...		115
4	Nādi, ...	secondary affixes (<i>taddhita</i>).	142
5	Khādi, ...	primary affixes (<i>kita</i>).	179
6	Tyādi, ...	verbs.	78
7	Nvādi, ...	affix of ṇu, etc.	228
			Total, 1043

The same writer has left behind a large commentary on this work. Ananda, otherwise called Piyadasī, a pupil of Moggallāna, has produced an abridgment of his master's work called Padasādhana, which he dedicates to Moggallāna under his priestly titles of Sangharakkhita Thera, and Medhankāra of Udumbaragiri, (the glomerous fig tree hill).

The other and somewhat older school is represented by the grammar ascribed to Śāriputta Mahā Kachchāyana. It is called in Burma the eight-book-grammar of Mahā Kissi, and contains 675 aphorisms. In his 'Kaccāyana Specimen,' [Halle, 1869,] M. Kuhn inserts, between the 13th and 14th aphorisms in the third (Kāraka) book, an additional one, and the Nyāsa introduces into the Kāraka book four others, all of which are represented in the Kāraka book of the Kātantra, though none of them appear in Kachchāyana, nor in any commentary upon it. The 675 aphorisms are thus arranged under eight books:—

	Name of Book.	Subject.	No. of Aphorisms.
1	Sandhi, ...	euphonic combination.	51
2	Nāma, ...	nouns.	221
3	Kāraka, ...	case-relation.	45
4	Samāsa, ...	compound words.	28
5	Taddhita, ...	secondary affixes.	62
6	Akhyāta, ...	verbs.	118
7	Kita, ...	primary affixes.	100
8	Upādi, ...	Up affixes, etc.	50
			Total 675

According to native tradition, Kachcháyana, also called Sáríputta,* pursuant to the declaration of Buddha that 'sense is represented by letters,' proceeded with Buddha's permission to Himavanta and there composed this grammar,† which, from this reputed origin, is considered sacred. It is to be found in every monastery in Burma. The arrangement of the work is irregular. The aphorisms follow each other without any regard to system. As in Sanskrit grammars, the rules are given in the form of concise aphorisms or sentences hanging together like threads (*suttas*): the right understanding of which chain of rules depends upon a knowledge of the *adhikára*, or heading rule, and its influence on those that follow; thus Kachch. Nám. 2. 12. *úthipumanapūmsaka-sankhyam*, ' (the rules about to follow relate to) nouns of number (and are alike applicable to the three genders) masc., fem., neut.' is a heading rule, which is said to exercise an authority over other aphorisms, inasmuch as these heading rules consist of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. They are said to be of three kinds, namely, *sihagatika* 'lion's gait' (applied to the habit of constantly pausing and looking back, *pubbaparavilokanato*); *maṇḍúkgatika* 'frog's leap' (the passing over, or skipping of, several aphorisms and supplying from a previous aphorism); *yathánupubbika* 'in regular or successive order.' As brevity is regarded as a primary requisite, the following abbreviations are resorted to in the aphorisms. A word in the genitive case is generally governed by *tháne* understood (*i. e.*, *instead of* such a word or letter another is to be used); a word in the ablative by *param* (*i. e.*, *after* such a word or letter, etc.); a word in the instrumental by *saha* (*i. e.*, *together with* such, etc.); a word in the locative by *pare* understood (*i. e.*, *when such a word or letter follows*, the rule refers to that which immediately precedes it); [*cf.* Cowell, pp. xvii—xviii]. *Vá* signifies 'option,' of which there are two kinds; namely, *vikappa*, the allowing a rule to be observed or not at pleasure, optionally enforced: and *vacatthita-vibhásá*, a fixed option, or one applicable throughout, the prescribed operation being in the one case carried out throughout, and in the other omitted throughout.

There are several commentaries on Kachcháyana's work, of which the most important are, the Nyása or Mukhamattadīpanī, by *Vimalabuddhi*, an enlarged counterpart of Kachcháyana, but with five additional aphorisms in the 3rd (or *káraka*) book, which are to be found in the *Kátantra*; the

* So called in a Talain work called Mūlamúle. In the commentary on the Rūpasiddhi, Buddha is said to have selected Sáríputta Kachcháyana to elaborate the rules of grammar propounded by him. (Mahá. xxvii.)

† Suttaniddesa by Chappada saddhammajoti-pála at Pagan in A. D. 1279 during the reign of king Kyau-tswá.

Rūpasiddhi, by *Dīpankara*, otherwise called *Buddhapiya*, a clear and well arranged digest of the grammar in seven books, the last two books of the grammar being joined into one; the *Bālávatāra* by *Dhammakitti*, a compendium also in seven books, of which the third (or *kāraka*) book is placed last, and divided into two chapters; lastly, the *Saddanīti*, a prolix and bulky volume containing twenty-five books, divided into four parts (*mālā*),—*linga* m., *dhātu* m., *vuḍḍhi* m., and *sutta* m.; the aphorisms are styled *lakṣhaṇas* (rules). It is a comparatively modern work, having been composed by *Aggavaṇṣa Thera* at Pagan during the reign of king Kyautswa, A. D. 1279—1298.

It has long been suspected by Pāli scholars that the Pāli grammar of Kachchāyana is based upon the Kātantra, a Sanskrit grammar of about the tenth century A. D. I see no reason to doubt this; for, it seems to me, no one, who has examined the native treatises belonging to this school, can help arriving at this conclusion.

The author of the *Rūpasiddhi*, in his comment on *paraśamaññā payoge* (Kachch. I. 9) says that Kachchāyana adopts certain grammatical terms to be found 'in Sanskrit, or in the works of other grammarians:' one of those terms is *linga*, which, in its usual sense, means 'gender, sex'; but, as the same writer has it, in his comment on *lingatthe pathamā* (Kachch. III, 15) *idha, pātipadikā paranāmadheyyam*, 'in this grammar (it is) another term for (the Sanskrit) *prātipadikā*,' i. e., the crude form or base of a noun. Subjoined are given the rulings on this term in Pāṇini, the Kātantra, and the Pāli grammars:—

arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam. Pāṇ. 1. 2. 45.

dhātuvibhaktivarjam arthaval lingam. Kāt. Nām. 1.

dhātupachechayavibhattivajjitassa atthavato saddassa 'parasamaññā payoge' ti paribhāsato lingasaññāyam. Rūp. Nām. 2.

dhātupachechayavibhattivajjitam atthayuttam saddarūpaṃ lingam nāma.

Bālāv. p. 8, l. 20. [Senart, p. 34.*]

dhātupachechayavibhattivajjitam atthavam lingam. Sad. Nīti. ch. xx. 5.

Hence, we see, as M. Kuhn justly remarks, that amongst the Kātantras, and in Kachchāyana's grammar, the word *linga* has the same signification, a nominal base. But there are numerous other instances of agreement between the aphorisms of Kachchāyana and those of the Kātantra; indeed, in the Kāraka book nearly every aphorism has a greater or less similarity with those in the same book in the Kātantra. To take for instance the first aphorism of the Kāraka book of Kachchāyana, and the corresponding (eighth) aphorism of the same book in the Kātantra:—

* Separate edition. Paris, 1871.

KACHCHÁYANA.

1. yasmád apeti bhayam ádatte vá
tad apádánaṃ.

Comm. yasmá vá apeti yasiná vá
bhayam jáyate yasmá. vá ádatte
taṃ kárakam apádánasaññam hoti.

KÁTANTRA.

8. yato 'paiti bhayam ádatte va
tad apádánaṃ.

Comm. yasmád apaiti yasmád bha-
yam bhavati yasmád ádatte vá tat
kárakam apádánasamjñam bhavati.

It is evident from this, as M. Senart says, (p. 125)* that the author of the Páli aphorism must have had before him not only the text of the Kátantra ruling, but even the commentary of Durgasinha upon it.

Again, *Pancamí* and *Sattamí* for the Imperative and Potential moods are terms peculiar to Kachcháyana and the Kátantras (v. Kát. Kár. 18 and 20.) The Bálavatára explains that they are 'the terminology of former teachers,' and Sadda Níti states that those terms are 'in accordance with Sanskrit grammars such as the Kátantra.' [D'Alwis, Cat. p. 61.]

We may infer, therefore, from his having the Kátantra before him, that the author of Kachcháyana's grammar did not live prior to the tenth century A. D.

It may be accepted as an historical fact that Buddhaghosa, bearing the Buddhist scriptures from Ceylon, came to Thahtun, which is situated a few miles north of Martaban, and which was then the capital city of one of the Talaing states. The year given for his arrival in the histories is A. D. 403, but probably he came within the period included in A. D. 410—432. At this time there does not appear to have been much intercourse between the Talaings and Burmese. Buddhism was in a very corrupt state. We read of no effort being made to disseminate copies of these scriptures, and the Burmese people in the central Irrawaddy country appear to have remained isolated for some centuries.

About six hundred years after, in the early part of the eleventh century A. D., the great hero of the later Burmese history, Anaurahtá, ascended the throne, and restored the ancient power of the Burmese monarchy. That this king conquered Thahtun, and procured the Buddhist scriptures from thence, cannot be doubted. His reform of religion is minutely and graphically described. He reigned forty-two years.†

About seven years after the death of Anaurahtá, certain Malabar princes invaded Ceylon, and obtained sovereignty over the island for twelve years, viz., 1059—1071 A. D. They were the most determined foes of Buddhism, and are stated to have systematically effected the destruction of all the sacred books they could lay hands on. These were afterwards replaced from Burma.

* Separate edition. Paris, 1871.

† Cf. History of the Burma race, by Sir A. P. Phayre, J. A. S. B., 1868 pp. 105, 106.

It has been satisfactorily proved by D'Alwis that Kachcháyana's grammar was not known to Buddhaghosa; he makes no allusion to it, nor is there any agreement between the terminology of Buddhaghosa and Kachcháyana. The Burmese acknowledge that they received it from Ceylon, and since it appeared after Buddhaghosa, it must have been composed subsequent to the date of the destruction of the sacred books in 1071 A. D., *i. e.*, towards the close of the eleventh century. But for many years the island was torn by internal dissensions, and it was not until the close of the twelfth century, during the reign of king Parákrama Báhu I, a monarch who is styled "the most martial, enterprising, and glorious in Sinhalese history", that a new impulse was given to Páli grammatical literature, and that we hear the names of the earliest disciples of Buddha revived in the persons of eminent priests, whose literary tastes found encouragement under that enlightened monarch.

Thus the founders of the two schools of Páli Grammar assumed respectively the names of the right and left hand disciples of Gotama, *viz.*, Sáriputta, and Moggallána. This may have given rise to the tradition that Kachcháyana's grammar was written about 500 years before the Christian era.

It is probable that Sáriputta was some years older than Moggallána, as the latter acknowledges his obligations to the former as his preceptor, and dedicates some of his works to him. It is true that the dedication might have been made in honour of the memory of some eminent priest of ancient times, yet the fact remains that the first distinguished priest, bearing that name, of whom mention is made subsequent to the age of the Kátantras, is Sáriputta, the author of the Vinaya-sangaha and other works, and the contemporary of Moggallána.

It is hoped that the foregoing statements will prove to the reader that the Páli grammar of Kachcháyana is based on the Kátantra, and that Kachcháyana lived in or about the twelfth century of the Christian era.

A list is appended of some of the treatises, on grammar, rhetoric and prosody, which are to be found in the monasteries of Burma.

No.	Probable date.	Name of Treatise.	Reputed author.	Reputed place of abode.	Reigning Sovereign.	Authority.
1		Kachâyanaupakaranañ.	Kachâyana.	Ceylon.	Parakrama Báhu I.	Pitaka traditions or
2		Nettipakaranañ	"	"	"	chronicles called in
3		Chûla Netti.	"	"	"	Burmese <i>Pitakat th-</i>
4		Petakosala.	"	"	"	<i>main tsu,</i>
5		Netti-atthakatha.	Sáriputta.	"	"	Sásanálankára.
6		Vinayasangaha.	"	"	"	Pit. trad.
7		Sáratthadipani.	"	"	"	D'Alvis Catalogue.
8		Anguttara-tika.	"	"	"	"
9		Kachâyana Sára.	Rassathera.	"	"	Pit. trad.
10		Kachâyana Bheda.	"	"	"	"
11		Nyása, or Mukhamatta dipani.	Vimalabuddhi.	"	"	Sásana.
12		Pedarúpasiddhi.	Buddhapiya.	"	"	"
13		Bálavatára.	Dhammakitta.	"	"	"
14		Rúpatañ.	Buddhadhára.	"	"	Pit. trad.
15		Moggallána vyakarana.	Moggallána.	"	"	"
16		vutti.	"	"	"	"
17		Abhidhanapadipika.	"	"	"	"
18		Subodhálankára.	Sangha rakkhita thera.	"	"	Sásana.
19		Vuttodaya.	"	"	"	"
20		Sambandhachintá.	"	"	"	"
21		nissaya.	"	"	"	"
22		Netti.	Vachí Rassa thera.	"	"	Pit. trad.
23		Gandhábharana.	"	"	"	Sásana,
24		Padasádhana.	"	"	"	"
25		Netti-atthakatha.	Anandapiyadasí.	"	"	"
26		Netti-tika.	Dhammapála.	"	"	Pit. trad.
27		Ilivutta.	"	"	"	"
28		" atthakatha.	"	"	"	"
29	A. D.	Chhappachaya.	Saddhamma ápa.	Pugan.	Kyátswá.	Pit. trad.
30	1227	Chhandosarattha vikásini.	"	"	"	"
31	"	tika.	"	"	"	"
32	"	Chhando.	"	"	"	"
33	"	Kalapa.	"	"	"	"
34	"	Vibhatvattha.	"	"	"	"
35	"	Kálapa-vachanathajotika vikásini.	[tika.	"	"	"
36	"	Vachanathajotika.	Vopulla.	"	"	"
37	"	tika.	"	"	"	Vuttodaya, J. A. S. B.

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Dr. Hoernle remarked that he had listened with great interest to Col. Fryer's paper, but he could not say that his arguments had convinced him. Col. Fryer's position was, that the well-known grammar of Kachcháyana was composed about the 12th century of the Christian era by a Ceylonese priest, called Sáríputta. But the Ceylonese themselves ascribed to the grammar an Indian origin. Col. Fryer said, that in the 12th century there lived two Ceylonese priests, bearing the names of the two famous disciples of Buddha, Sáríputta and Moggallána; to the latter, it appeared, the composition of a grammar was ascribed by the Ceylonese themselves, but not to the former, Sáríputta. But Col. Fryer maintained that the Ceylonese were mistaken with respect to Sáríputta, and that they erroneously ascribed Kachcháyana's grammar, which was really written by the Ceylonese Sáríputta, to the famous Indian Sáríputta, simply because of the identity of the two names. But if that were so, it was not easy to understand why a similar mistake was not made in the case of Moggallána. If Ceylonese tradition was correct in ascribing a grammar to the Ceylonese Moggallána, it may be accepted to be also correct, in not ascribing Kachcháyana's grammar to the Ceylonese Sáríputta, but to an Indian Kachcháyana.

He had been informed by Dr. Mitra that Kachcháyana was already mentioned in the Mahāvamśa, in the 5th century A. D. In that case, it would be impossible that Kachcháyana should have lived in the 12th century A. D. But he did not recollect any such passage in the Mahāvamśa, and was inclined to suspect a misunderstanding. The mere mention of a famous person called Katyáyana was not sufficient to identify him with the Grammarian. The Chinese pilgrim Hwentsang, in the 8th century, also mentioned a certain Katyáyana, famous for his learning, the author of an *Abhidharma* and a *Kośa*, who was said to have lived 300 years after Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. It was not impossible that he might have been the Grammarian; but there was no direct evidence to identify them.

Col. Fryer's arguments in support of his theory were, in the main, two. First, that there was a striking correspondence between Kachcháyana's grammar and the Sanskrit Kātantra grammar with regard to grammatical terminology. This circumstance was a well-known one; the question had been discussed by Dr. Burnell in his "Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians," with which work Col. Fryer appeared to be unacquainted. Dr. Burnell showed that the terminology in question was one common to the Aindra or pre-Pāṇinian School of Sanskrit Grammarians; whence it followed that, when it was used in two grammars, it did not necessarily show that one borrowed from the other, but only that they both belonged to the same school. Not long ago he (Dr. Hoernle) had published an edition of Chanda's grammar of the Ancient Prākṛit, in which the same terminology (*e. g.*, *linga* in the

sense of "nominal base") occurred; yet the work must be very much older than the 10th century; it had been revised and recast over and over again, at various times, and in its latest revised form it was known to Hema Chandra, who lived in the middle of the 12th century. This simply showed that Chanda's grammar also belonged to the Aindra School. Col. Fryer ascribed the composition of the Kátantra grammar to the 10th century, but it did not appear on what grounds. Like many other ancient works, Kachcháyana's grammar may have passed through revisions; the commentary to it, in which Col. Fryer had pointed to one striking agreement with Durga Sipha's commentary on the Kátantra, was not ascribed to Kachcháyana, but to Sanghanandí (as quoted by Dr. Burnell); and it might be possible that the commentary or one of the revisions of the grammar was made so late as the 12th century. Thus, while Kachcháyana's rule enjoined certain words (as *divrate*) to be spelled with *v*, in agreement with the ancient practice of the Inscriptions, his commentator, after a much later fashion, spells them with *b* (*dibbate*). The circumstance that Kachcháyana's grammar was not known to Buddhagosha had been satisfactorily explained by Dr. Burnell in his work on the Aindra Grammarians.

Col. Fryer's second argument was an historical one, but he (Dr. Hoernle) could not quite understand how it precluded the traditional ascription of the composition of the grammar in question to an *Indian* Kachcháyana. On the whole, he thought, therefore, that the question as to the identity of Kachcháyana must still be considered an open one.

Col. Fryer still thought that the Páli of Ceylon and Burma was the language of Buddha used in Magadha. But most Páli scholars were now agreed that *this was not so*, though they were not quite agreed to which exact locality in India it should be referred. The reasons against Páli being Mágadhi were very strong; the exceptional (by no means "common," as Col. Fryer said) occurrence of *e* for *o*—a fact not unknown hitherto—was not at all decisive.

The following note was subsequently received from Col. Fryer:—

"According to Ariyavaṃsa—who in 1439 A. D. wrote Kachcháyana bheda tīkā—the commentator Sanghanandi and Kachcháyana are the same person, and the illustrations are ascribed by him to Brahmádatta: for he says 'imáni suttáni mahákachcháyānena katáni, vutti ca sanghanandīsan-khātena mahákachcháyānen' eva katá, payogo brahmádattena kato ti Vuttam c'etaṃ :—

Kachcháyanakato yogo vutti ca sanghanandino, payogo brahmádattena nyāso vimalabuddhiná [App. D'Alw. Introd. p. 104].

Omitting the illustrations '*dibbate*' &c. ascribed to Brahmádatta, Kachcháyana's rule, and Sanghanandi's comment thereon, singularly alike, are subjoined:—

Rule, tassa chavaggayakāra[~]akāratam sadhātavantassa.

Comm., tassa yappachchayassa chavaggayakāravakāratam hoti dhāt-
vantenā saha yathāsambhavaṃ [Kacc. VI, 2, 10]."*

* [Fausböll's system of transliteration had been followed by Col. Fryer in his paper. But as some letters of that system do not exist in the Society's Press, it has been thought better to preserve uniformity by substituting the system adopted by the Society in all their publications. Ed.]





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